

Message Text

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FOR AMBASSADOR TODMAN FROM STEDMAN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP

SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED PAGE 7 OF
TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES:

QUOTE PRESIDENT CARTER'S DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES ARE
SEEKING TO PROMOTE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH
AMERICA BY WORKING THROUGH THE EXISTING MILITARY REGIMES,
NOT AGAINST THEM.

TERENCE A. TODMAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-
AMERICAN AFFAIRS, NOW ON A TOUR OF CHILE, ARGENTINA,
PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY, ALL UNDER MILITARY RULE, HAS
STRESSED RECENT "IMPROVEMENTS" IN THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN
RIGHTS, SUCH AS THE RELEASE OF MANY POLITICAL PRISONERS
AND FEWER REPORTS OF TORTURE.

IN CHILE, MR. TODMAN SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES
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CONSIDERED AS "VERY POSITIVE" THE DECISION ANNOUNCED
BY PRESIDENT AUGUSTO PINOCHET TO ABOLISH THE SECRET POLICE
AGENCY, DINA, WHICH HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF WIDESPREAD
KILLINGS AND TORTURE DURING REPRESSION OF LEFT-WING
ENEMIES OF THE MILITARY REGIME SINCE 1973.

HE SAID THAT ARGENTINA, WHERE AT LEAST 3,000 PEOPLE

HAVE BEEN KILLED IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE SINCE 1975, WAS EMERGING FROM A "PERIOD OF ABNORMALITY" UNDER THE MILITARY REGIME HEADED BY PRESIDENT JORGE RAFAEL VIDELA, THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY.

RESPECT FOR 'NONINTERVENTION'

MR. TODMAN HAS TAKEN EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO SAY THAT MR. CARTER'S CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT AIMED AGAINST ANY PARTICULAR MOVEMENT, AND THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT TRYING TO DICTATE CONDUCT ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR POLITICAL LIBERTIES TO OTHER COUNTRIES. THIS EMPHASIS ON AMERICAN RESPECT FOR "NONINTERVENTION" RESPONDS TO THE ANGRY REACTION OF MOST LATIN AMERICAN MILITARY REGIMES TO EARLIER STATEMENTS BY SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE, WHO LIKENED ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY TO ETHIOPIA IN TERMS OF BRUTALITY AND REPRESSION.

ALTHOUGH MR. CARTER'S EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS FOUND WIDE SUPPORT AMONG PEOPLE WHO OPPOSE THE MILITARY IN POWER, THE NATIONALIST SENTIMENT IN LATIN AMERICA AGAINST "YANKEE IMPERIALISM" IS STILL EASILY ACTIVATED, AND THIS HAS BEEN EXPLOITED BY RIGHT-WING LEADERS.

IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS, MR. TODMAN AND PATRICIA DERIAN, THE STATE DEPARTMENT COORDINATOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, HAVE UNCLASSIFIED

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MADE CLEAR TO ARGENTINE AND URUGUAYAN AUTHORITIES THAT THE UNITED STATES IS CAREFULLY MONITORING CHARGES OF CONTINUING ARBITRARY ARREST, DISAPPEARANCES, TORTURE AND INTIMIDATION, INCLUDING ANTI-SEMITIC ACTS HERE.

IN EACH COUNTRY, MR. TODMAN, MRS. DERIAN AND ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WHO VISITED CHILE LAST WEEK, HAVE MET WITH OPPOSITION LEADERS, UNION OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ROMAN CATHOLIC AND HUMANITARIAN GROUPS CONCERNED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS.

STRESS ON CIVILIANS

-WE VIEW VERY FAVORABLY THE TENDENCY OF A RETURN TO ELECTED, CIVILIAN GOVERNMENTS IN THE PART OF COUNTRIES WHERE THE MILITARY RECOGNIZE THAT GOVERNMENT IS A TASK FOR CIVILIANS," SAID MR. TODMAN.

IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, THE MILITARY REGIMES IN ECUADOR, PERU AND BOLIVIA HAVE ANNOUNCED PLANS FOR GENERAL ELECTIONS BEFORE THE END OF 1980. THE URUGUAYAN REGIME,

HEADED BY A CIVILIAN BUT BASED ON THE ARMED FORCES, SAID ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD IN 1981. GENERAL PINOCHET HAS SPOKEN OF AN ELECTED CHILEAN GOVERNMENT IN 1986.

THE DIPLOMATIC STYLE OF STRESSING THE POSITIVE, AND AVOIDING THE ROLE OF BEING A PUBLIC ACCUSER, IS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE MILITARY WILL DECIDE THAT ITS LONG-TERM INTEREST LIES IN REDUCING REPRESSION, RESTORING POLITICAL AND UNION LIBERTIES, AND STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

MORE THAN ANTI-COMMUNISM

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MR. LOWENSTEIN MADE CLEAR IN CHILE THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD NOT TAKE THE "ANTI-COMMUNISM" INVOKED BY THE RIGHT-WING MILITARY REGIMES AS THE BASIS FOR "AUTOMATIC" SUPPORT OF THESE GOVERNMENTS. "WE DID THAT IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND GREECE, WHERE WE SUPPORTED DICTATORSHIPS," MR. LOWENSTEIN SAID. "THAT WILL NOT HAPPEN UNDER PRESIDENT CARTER."

UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAID THERE WAS A LIVELY DEBATE WITHIN THE STATE DEPARTMENT OVER USING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST MILITARY REGIMES THAT REFUSED TO TAKE MEASURES TO IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS OR RELAX POLITICAL REPRESSION. MILITARY AID HAS ALREADY BEEN SHARPLY CUT BACK.

SOME AMERICAN ADVISERS FEEL THAT EVEN WHEN THE MILITARY "CLEAN UP THEIR IMAGE" ON VIOLENT REPRESSION, THE AUTHORITARIAN NATURE OF THE MILITARY REGIMES WILL CONTINUE, WITH ENTRENCHMENT OF UNDEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS, WITHOUT FREE ELECTIONS, BEHIND A CONSTITUTIONAL FACADE.

"WE ARE JUST AT THE BEGINNING OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A POLICY BASED ON THE PRIMARY HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA," SAID AN AMERICAN OFFICIAL. "THERE HAS BEEN SOME HEADWAY. AT LEAST EVERY GOVERNMENT KNOWS WHERE WE STAND, AND THERE HAVE BEEN SOME POSITIVE RESPONSE. BUT THERE ARE A LOT OF UNCERTAINTIES AHEAD." UNQUOTE. VANCE

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